

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PRETOR 05917 01 OF 02 301710Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 5917

EXDIS - NOFORN

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SUBJECT: PROSPECTS FOR NAMIBIA

REF: STATE 304229

1. SUMMARY: SAG APPEARS TO HAVE DECIDED TO MOVE AHEAD TO DEVELOP A MULTIRACIAL INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHICH COULD BE INSTITUTED DURING 1977. DRAFTING OF FINAL CONSTITUTION FOR NAMIBIA WOULD THEN BE DONE, LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE APPROXIMATELY DEC. 31, 1978. SAG APPEARS TO HAVE DROPPED ANY INTENTION OF INVOLVING THE UN OR SWAPO. BY BRINGING BACK PERSONS FORMERLY AFFILIATED WITH SWAPO, IT IS TRYING TO ENHANCE IMPRESSION THAT SWAPO IS DIVIDED AND THAT SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS OF SWAPO SUPPORT TURNHALLE. END SUMMARY.

2. WITH REFERENCE TO QUESTIONS POSED IN PARA 2 OF REFTTEL, DECISION TO HAVE LEGAL ADVISORS DRAFT A CONSTITUTION WAS APPARENTLY REACHED DURING LATTER PART OF NOVEMBER FOLLOWING MEETING IN PRETORIA BETWEEN VORSTER, FOURIE AND PIK BOTHA AND THE TURNHALLE DELEGATES. FOURIE TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT THE PRIME MINISTER INDICATED TO THE DELEGATES THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO ACCELERATE THEIR DELIBERATIONS AND WHILE DECISION ON HOW TO DO THIS WAS THEIRS TO MAKE, HE WOULD STRONGLY ADVISE ESTABLISHING A SMALL GROUP OF EXPERTS
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PAGE 02 PRETOR 05917 01 OF 02 301710Z

TO DRAFT THE BASIS FOR A CONSTITUTION. FOLLOWING THIS SESSION, THE TURNHALLE DELEGATES MET IN WINDHOEK AND DECIDED TO SET UP A COMMITTEE COMPRISED OF THE LEGAL ADVISORS TO THE VARIOUS DELEGATIONS. FOURIE WAS NOT FORTHCOMING TO QUESTIONS ABOUT TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO HOW MANY TIERS OF GOVERNMENT WOULD BE CONSIDERED

OR WHEN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE FORMED. HE DID GO SO FAR AS TO SAY THAT THE VIEWS OF MUDGE ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE ASCENDANCY THAN THOSE OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WHITE DELEGATION AND THAT IF THE EXPERTS DID THEIR WORK WELL AND THE TURNHALLE ACTED EXPEDITIOUSLY WHEN THEY RECONVENE ON JANUARY 18, SOME ACTION MIGHT COME OUT OF THE 1977 PARLIAMENTARY SESSION.

3. IN RETROSPECT, WE BELIEVE THAT THE SAG AROUND THE MIDDLE OF NOVEMBER, AFTER WAITING FOR TWO MONTHS TO SEE THE RESULTS OF UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED IN THE KISSINGER-VORSTER MEETINGS, DECIDED TO PROCEED ALONG THE LINES OF ITS ORIGINAL PLAN TO USE TURNHALLE AS THE VEHICLE FOR FORMULATION OF A CONSTITUTION FOR NAMIBIA, LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE TOWARD DECEMBER 31, 1978. RECONSTRUCTING WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE WITHIN TURNHALLE OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS THE FOLLOWING SIGNIFICANT PHASES IN SAG THINKING EMERGE:

A. JUNE AND JULY SAW FRUSTRATIONS OF BLACK AND BROWN DELEGATIONS REACH A BOILING POINT (PRETORIA 754). NONE OF TURNHALLE RECOMMENDATIONS HAD BEEN IMPLEMENTED OR EVEN DISCUSSED SERIOUSLY WITH SOUTH WEST ADMINISTRATORS. RECOMMENDATIONS WERE MERELY HANDED TO SAG BUREAUCRATS IN BANTU OR COLORED AFFAIRS MINISTRIES IN PRETORIA FOR STUDY. IN SWA, A FEW TOKEN STEPS TOWARD LIMITING PETTY APARTHEID HAD BEEN TAKEN, BUT NO REALLY SIGNIFICANT CHANGES INSTITUTED. WHITE DELEGATION UNDER DU PLESSIS APPEARED TO BE STONE-WALLING PROGRESSIVE ACTION, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO THE GROWING BLACK AND BROWN DEMAND FOR CONSIDERATION OF SOME FORM OF MULTIRACIAL INTERIM GOVERNMENT THAT MIGHT HAVE REAL AUTHORITY IN SOME SPHERES. TWO DEADLINES LATE IN AUGUST

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 PRETOR 05917 01 OF 02 301710Z

APPEARED LIKELY TO BRING NEW DEVELOPMENTS: UNSC AUGUST 31 DEADLINE FOR SIGNIFICANT ACTION BY SAG, AND AUGUST 25 NATIONAL PARTY OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA CONGRESS.

B. MOST SOUTHWESTERS EXPECTED NATIONAL CONGRESS TO BE A SHOWDOWN BETWEEN DIRK MUDGE AND THE "VERKRAMPTE" DU PLESSIS AND VAN ZIJL. MUDGE OUTLINED HIS HOPES OF WINNING CONTROL OF THE PARTY, THEN PROCEEDING MORE RAPIDLY TO MOVE SWA TOWARD INDEPENDENCE IN ITS OWN STYLE (PRETORIA 3594 AND A-127, AUG. 27, 1976). IN MID-AUGUST, HOWEVER, VORSTER CALLED DU PLESSIS TO PRETORIA FOR TALKS, FOLLOWING WHICH THE WHITE DELEGATION MADE A SURPRISE MOVE AUGUST 18. IT INTRODUCED, AND TURNHALLE QUICKLY ADOPTED (AND SAG WIDELY PUBLICIZED), A MOTION CALLING FOR INDEPENDENCE BY ABOUT DEC. 31, 1978. THE PUBLIC SETTING OF A SPECIFIC DATE WAS NEW, ALTHOUGH FULLY CONSISTENT WITH EARLIER SAG COMMENTS ABOUT THE LENGTH OF TIME IT MIGHT TAKE BEFORE INDEPENDENCE ATTAINED (I.E., THREE YEARS FROM START OF TURNHALLE IN DECEMBER, 1975). THERE WAS NO CHANGE, HOWEVER, IN THE

WHITE POSITION ON THE PROCESS TO BE FOLLOWED: DRAFT COMPLETE CONSTITUTION FIRST, OBTAIN SOME FORM OF ENDORSEMENT FROM SWA PEOPLES, SETTLE DETAILS OF SA-SWA ARRANGEMENTS, AND ONLY THEN CONSIDER INTERIM GOVERNMENT (PRETORIA 3702, 3715). BLACKS AND BROWNS WERE ENCOURAGED BY THE MOTION BUT CONTINUED TO HOPE FOR AMUDGE ASCENDANCY IN THE NAT PARTY WHICH COULD SHIFT FOCUS TO EARLY ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

C. WITH RESPECT TO THE ANTICIPATED SHOWDOWN AT THE SWA NAT CONGRESS, IT DID NOT MATERIALIZE. VORSTER IS GENERALLY THOUGHT TO HAVE INTERVENED TO PREVENT A SPLIT IN THE PARTY (PRETORIA 3833 AND KLOPPERS-MUNN MEMCON OF SEPT 18, 1976). WHEN TURNHALLE DISCUSSIONS RESUMED EARLY IN SEPTEMBER, THEY WERE OVERSHADOWED BY RUMORS THAT SOME SPECIAL DEAL HAD BEEN WORKED OUT, OR WOULD BE WORKED OUT DURING THE IMPENDING VISIT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER TO SOUTH AFRICA. FOLLOWING THE VISIT IN MID-SEPTEMBER, TURNHALLE PARTICIPANTS CLEARLY EXPECTED THAT NEW DISCUSSIONS WOULD SHORTLY TAKE PLACE IN SOME INTERNATIONAL VENUE WITH SWAPO, TURNHALLE, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PRETOR 05917 01 OF 02 301710Z

UN AND SAG REPRESENTED (PRETORIA A-155, OCTOBER 5, 1976).

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 PRETOR 05917 02 OF 02 301740Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PRETORIA 5917

EXDIS - NOFORN

D. AS TIME PASSED AND NO NEW INITIATIVE EMERGED, BLACK AND BROWN TURNHALLE DELEGATES AGAIN BECAME DESPONDENT. SOME DELEGATIONS WALKED OUT OF TURNHALLE ON OCTOBER 20 WHEN "VERKRAMPTE" VAN ZIJL MADE SLURRING REMARKS ABOUT BLACKS (PRETORIA 4845). CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS OF THE WHITE

DELEGATION CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES PROVIDE THAT MOST POWERS BE GIVEN TO THE SECOND TIER OF GOVERNMENT (BASICALLY REGIONAL/ETHNIC DIVISIONS PRESENTLY ESTABLISHED) RATHER THAN TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT (THE FIRST TIER). BLACKS AND BROWNS DISCERNED APARTHEID PARAPHRASED (PRETORIA 5198). MEANWHILE, SWAPO, WHICH HAD MADE A FEW ACCOMMODATING NOISES FOLLOWING THE KISSINGER-VORSTER PRETORIA MEETING, RAPIDLY HARDENED ITS RHETORIC AFTER NUJOMA'S VISIT TO CUBA (PRETORIA 4715). TALK OF A NEW SWAPO MILITARY INITIATIVE, WITH MORE SUPPORT FROM MPLA AND CUBANS IN ANGOLA, RAISED LEVELS OF CONVERN IN SWA AND SA. SOME POLITICAL GROUPS IN SWA (E.G., FOUR NAMA SUB-GROUPS AND BASTER VOLKSPARTEI), EVIDENTLY DECIDING THAT TURNHALLE WAS A LOSING PROPOSITION, DECLARED ALLEGIANCE TO SWAPO (PRETORIA 5198).

E. DURING LATE OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, THE MPLA WITH SUPPORT OF SWAPO AND CUBANS MOUNTED A MAJOR EFFORT TO CLEAR UNITA FORCES FROM THE ANGOLAN BORDER AREA WITH NAMIBIA. THIS BROUGHT A NEW FLOW OF REFUGEES INTO SOUTH WEST. BUT THIS TIME THOSE FLEEING WERE NOT PORTUGUESE OR THEIR SYMPATHIZERS BUT RATHER KWANYAMA TRIBESMEN, BROTHERS OF OVAMBO KWANYAMA
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 PRETOR 05917 02 OF 02 301740Z

COUNTERPARTS (PRETORIA A-155, OCT 5, 1976). STORIES OF ATROCITIES AND MASSACRES CARRIED OUT BY MPLA WITH SWAPO HELP, BROUGHT BY THESE REFUGEES, MAY HAVE HAD SOBERING EFFECT ON OVAMBOS WHO HERETOFORE HAD REGARDED SWAPO AS THEIR POTENTIAL LIBERATORS. SAG IS GIVING WIDE PLAY TO SUCH REPORTS, AND SEEMS TO BELIEVE THAT SWAPO SUFFERED SIGNIFICANTLY FROM ITS INVOLVEMENT IN THE MPLA CAMPAIGN TO CONTROL UNITA.

F. IN MID-NOVEMBER, WITH FOLLOW-THROUGH ON THE KISSINGER-VORSTER UNDERSTANDINGS STALLED, THE BLACK AND BROWN DELEGATES AT TURNHALLE INCREASINGLY RESTIVE, AND THE MPLA-SWAPO-CUBAN OFFENSIVE AGAINST UNITA IS FULL SWING, THE SAG APPEARS TO HAVE REACHED MAJOR DECISIONS ON WHAT TO DO NEXT. (SIGNIFICANTLY, PIK BOTHA RETURNED TO PRETORIA FOR TWO WEEKS OF CONSULTATIONS AT THIS TIME.) ONE DECISION WAS TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THEIR GAME PLAN ON TURNHALLE. FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE WHITE DELEGATION CAME TO PRETORIA TO TALK THINGS OVER WITH THE PRIME MININSTER. THIS RESULTED IN A DEMAND BY BLACKS AND BROWNS FOR A MEETING WITH VORSTER, LEADING TO THE NOVEMBER 25 SESSION WITH ALL TURNHALLE DELEGATES (PRETORIA 5475). THIS WAS WHEN VORSTER MADE THE "SUGGESTIONS" CONTAINED IN PARA 2 ABOVE, AFTER WHICH THE TURNHALLE RECONVENED AND ANNOUNCED THE DECISION TO FORM SEVERAL WORKING COMMITTEES (PRETORIA 5670). ANOTHER SAG DECISION EMERGES FROM THE INCREASING NUMBERS OF EX-SWAPO STALWARTS LIKE KOZONGUIZI, KERINA, APPOLUS AND KUGANGUA WHO ARE RETURNING, AND THE ANTI-SWAPO CAMPAIGN WHICH HAS BEEN MOUNTED USING THEM. DR. BEN AFRICA, RETURNING FROM KENYA DEC. 22, SAID THERE WERE AT LEAST 18 SWAPO MEN IN KENYA WHO WERE THOROUGHLY DISILLUSIONED WITH SWAPO AND

WHO HAD ASKED HIM TO FACILITATE THEIR RETURN TO SWA.
ANOTHER MOVE WAS THE DECLARATION OF WAR ON SWAPO BY UNITA
MILITARY COMMANDER CHIWALE, ISSUED DECEMBER 20. UNITA LONG
ASSISTED SWAPO, AND KNOWS THE ORGANIZATION VERY WELL. SINCE
IT STILL HAS COME ABILITY TO STRIKE IN SOUTHERN AREAS OF
ANGOLA, UNITA COULD POSE A THREAT TO ANY SWAPO CAMP OR
CONCENTRATION. SAG MAY WELL HAVE ENCOURAGED CHIWALE'S STATE-
MENT AND EXPECTS COVERTLY TO SUPPORT ANY ENSUING ACTION.
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 PRETOR 05917 02 OF 02 301740Z

WE READ THE FOREGOING TO MEAN THAT EFFORTS TO ACCOMMODATE
SWAPO HAVE BEEN DROPPED IN FAVOR OF CONTAINING SWAPO'S
MILITARY THREAT WHILE TRYING TO DESCREDIT THE ORGANIZATION.

4. TURNHALLE HAS NOW ADJOURNED UNTIL JANUARY 18. AS FAR AS
WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ESTABLISH, NONE OF THE BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL
ISSUES HAVE BEEN RESOLVED. THESE INCLUDE AMONG OTHERS
BLACK DEMANDS FOR AN END TO DISCRIMINATION EXPRESSED IN SOME
KIND OF BILL OF RIGHTS; PRINCIPAL POWERS TO BE INVESTED IN A
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT RATHER THAN SECOND TIER REGIONAL/ETHNIC
DIVISIONS; EQUALITY OF TREATMENT IN PROPERTY OWNERSHIP,
ESPECIALLY IN URBAN AREAS; AND RAPID IMPROVEMENT IN BLACK
EDUCATION. THE LEGAL ADVISORS WHO MUST ADDRESS THESE
AND OTHER DIFFICULT ISSUES HAVE IN THE PAST BEEN RESPONSIVE
TO SAG INFLUENCE. THEY WILL BEGIN THEIR WORK ON ABOUT
JANUARY 3, AND HOPE TO HAVE A DRAFT READY TO SUBMIT TO
THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE ON JANUARY 18. (THE REFERENCE
TO "FULL 38 MEMBERS CONFERENCE" PARA 4 PRETORIA 5670 REFERS
TO CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE, AND NOT CONFERENCE PLENARY.)

5. SINCE IT APPEARS THAT SAG HAS AGAIN ASSERTED CONTROL,
HARDENING ATTITUDE TOWARD SWAPO AND UN, AND DOING SO WITHOUT
CLEAR CENSURE TO CONSERVATIVE SWA WHITES, WE ASK OURSELVES
WHY BLACKS AND BROWNS APPEAR TO BE ACCEPTING THESE NEW
MOVES WITH SOME APPEARANCE OF HOPE, IN CONTRAST TO EARLIER
TALK OF WALK-OUTS. SEVERAL FACTORS SEEM TO BE AT WORK.

A. BLACKS AND BROWNS HAVE LONG WANTED TO SEE EARLY
ESTABLISHMENT OF MULTIRACIAL INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE
SOME CLEAR POWERS, AND WHICH WOULD NEGOTIATE TERMS OF
INDEPENDENCE WITH SAG. NEW PROCEDURE AGREED TO TOWARD THE
END OF NOVEMBER MAY PROVIDE FOR THIS, IN CONTRAST TO AUGUST 18
DECLARATION. THIS WOULD SIGNAL SAG ADOPTION OF SOME OF
MUDGE'S PROPOSALS, AND IS BEING INTERPRETED AS ENHANCING
POSSIBILITY OF MUDGE'S ASCENDANCY IN SWA WHITE POLITICS.

B. WITH SAG HARDENING LINE ON SWAPO, DELEGATES WHO
EARLIER THREATENED TO CROSS OVER TO SWAPO NO LONGER FIND IT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PRETOR 05917 02 OF 02 301740Z

OFFERS A REAL ALTERNATIVE UNLESS THEY GO INTO EXILE. THEY SEE THAT SAG HAS POWER TO PROTECT AND ADVANCE THEM ON ONE HAND, OR TO EXCISE THEM ON THE OTHER.

C. THERE MAY BE SOME REAL DISILLUSIONMENT WITH SWAPO AS A CONSEQUENCE OF ITS GROWING IDENTIFICATION WITH MPLA AND SOVIET BLOC BACKERS, COUPLED WITH ACTIONS AGAINST KWANYAMA TRIBESMEN IN ANGOLA. THERE ARE MANY BLACKS AND BROWNS WHO ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT A SOVIET-ORIENTED SWAPO WOULD BE A BETTER MASTER THAN SAG, ESPECIALLY IF SAG APPEARS TO BE OFFERING SOME HOPE OF INDEPENDENCE, ALTHOUGH THE MORE RADICAL YOUNG SWA BLACKS ARE INCLINED TO USE THE UNKNOWN DEVIL TO EXORCISE THE KNOWN ONE.

6. UNTIL LEGAL ADVISORS HAVE PRESENTED DRAFT, IT WILL NOT BE CLEAR HOW FAR SAG MAY BE PREPARED TO GO TO ACCOMMODATE BLACK AND BROWN ASPIRATIONS. SAG MUST HOPE THAT A FORMULA ACCEPTABLE TO TURNHALLE CAN BE FOUND, AND THAT IT WILL BE SUFFICIENTLY REASONABLE TO EARN IN TIME SOME MEASURE OF ACCEPTANCE BY ELEMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.
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